28: Spiro--21 (1947-48)1949 Woleaians
827, 514, 177, 636 Ifalik

"The chiefs informed the people that they were to follow implicitly the recommendations made by the Military Government officers and the Navy doctors, about clearing the rubbish around their houses, and building over-water heads (1)."

"1. This is an example of navy unwarranted generalization. On Yap the natives defecate on the ground, with the result that Yap is plagued with diseases of all kinds. The Navy has encouraged the natives to build over-water heads to preclude the polluting of the ground, and thus preventing disease. When they arrived on Ifaluk, they assumed that the Ifaluk pattern was similar to Yap's, and suggested to the chiefs that over-water heads be erected. This suggestion, however, was entirely unnecessary since the Ifaluk natives almost invariably use the lagoon for their ablutions, abhoring the sight and smell of faeces."

28: Spiro--83 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 842, 827 Ifalik

"As between boys and girls, the latter are preferable. At first my informants said that there was no preference, but then qualified this equality by saying that 'boy more down,' expressing relative value in spatial terms, as they are wont to do. They all agreed that 'boy more down' because the girls can have babies (when they become mature, of course) but the boys cannot, and this was the decisive factor. When discussing the relative status of men and women the same response was given by still other informants. Women are more important than men because they can bear children. This emphasized, again, the great importance and value of children. (3)"

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]"

"3. [Footnote p. 83] One can also question the native's actual knowledge of physiological paternity from this statement. For though it is true that only the women bear the children, the men play an equally important role in conception, which they seem to completely overlook in this regard. In a discussion of the relative status of the sexes with still other informants, I pointed out that the child-bearing role of women is paralleled, by their own theories, by the procreative powers of the men. They all looked surprised, as if the thought had not occured to them, and finally Arogeirox exclaimed, 'You talk true', and they then changed their evaluation, and said that men are more important. The next day my informants returned to this point, and praised me for my--to them--very acute observation.

But this disregard of the man's role in procreation in the context of this stiuation is not the only reason that leads one to question their fundamental knowledge of physiological paternity. In the mythology, it will be recalled that Legobub, the primordial goddess, gave birth to three children, without having a male consort. This 'virgin birth' is not interpreted as a miracle, a prerogative of the supernaturals, but rather accepted without question.

It is possible that their knowledge of physiological paternity has been borrowed since contact, and has not become integrated into the indigenous belief. But this theory is entirely speculative, there being no way to establish it."

28: Spiro--88-89 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 827, 865 Ifalik

"During this early infancy, I seldom heard an infant cry, there being but two occasions which evoke a crying response. It is believed that an infant which lies still in its cradle, without moving, will not grow. It is also believed that it is bad for the infant to lie on its stomach, but that it is good to lie on its side. The mother constantly watches the infant to see that it moves or does not lie on its stomach. If it does not move or does lie on its stomach, she will turn him on [89] its side, and this occurs, not infrequently. The infant often cries at this disturbance, whereupon the mother will lift it out of the cradle and nurse it."

28: Spiro--90 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 854, 863, 514, 827 Ikalik

"The infant wears swaddling clothes until it has learned to crawl. The wearing of these clothes--a cloth--is a function of desire for cleanliness, rather than modesty, for the moment the infant begins to crawl, the cloth drops off. When an adult holds an infant on his lap, he will usually hold the cloth under it, so that he should not be soiled should the infant choose to defecate or urinate. This precaution is necessary because sphincter control is not taught the child until it can walk and talk, that is, not until he can understand the demand and has mastered the motor behavior to carry it out. The infant's faeces are disposed of in the lagoon, whereas its urine is merely wiped up. Not only is there no attempt made to toilet-train the infant, but the adults do not convey to the infant by means of facial expressions or gestures any exaggerated abhorence for excrement. Adults themselves are ashamed of excretory processes, but do not view excrement as dangerous or harmful, or as material with which to work evil magic. And this attitude, of course, is reflected in their reaction to the excretory behavior of their infants. For example, while I was sitting in a house with a young man and his infant daughter, the daughter defecated on the bare thigh of her father. He gave absolutely no overt indications of disgust or anger, but laughingly called his wife to remove the faeces

from his thigh. The infant, by this time, was having great fun, and with real glee (9) defecated once again, with the same parental consequences."

"9. I appreciate the anthropomorphism involved in this description. And yet, the behavioral constellation was what in an adult one would call, glee--sparkling and laughing eyes, cooing, and exaggerated movement of arms and legs."

28: Spiro--90-91
116, 827, 863, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Despite the lack of any exaggerated distaste towards faeces, which the infant may learn from his parents, it soon learns that the adults have peculiar attitudes towards faeces and defecation. For example, many babies play with their faeces, smear them on their hands and face, and sometimes eat them. Again, the parents show their usual restraint in dealing with this behavior, but they do deal with it. They prevent the infant from cultivating this pastime. The infant is not punished, however, because he knows no better. ('Bout baby! He no savvy nothing.') [91]

Once he learns to walk and to talk, however, he is only trained in sphincter control, but he learns that his parents are concerned about his bowel movements. He is taught to defecate in the lagoon, not in the house or on land. If he does not readily learn to use the lagoon he is reprimanded and shamed, though not beaten. Any person, parent and stranger alike, will rebuke a child for polluting the ground or the house. The parents often invoke the authority of the chiefs in chastizing the child. 'Somebody come this place (that is, to our house), very bad this place. (because of the excrement). Chief some, he angry to this place. You no afraid chief?'

My observations indicate that few, if any children rebel against this training, and I observed none who did not observe the practice of repairing to the lagoon, after they had been taught. The attitude towards urine is much more lax. Children who do not as yet wear clothes urinate on the ground with impunity, but not in the house.

But the parents are not only concerned that the children defecate in the right place, they are also concerned that they defecate regularly. Parents often ask their children if they have defecated, and are alarmed by constipation, so that if the child should not defecate for a few days, he is deemed sick, and is given 'medicine', water and herbs, which ostensibly have a cathartic value. Despite the occurance of constipation, however, the parents themselves are confident that children did not deliberately withhold their faeces as a form of obstinacy."

28: Spiro--91-92
116, 862, 593, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Weaning, as we have seen, is begun in the third month, the infant being fed some toddy and fish as part of its regular diet. As soon as it begins to crawl, breadfruit and taro are added to the diet morning, noon, and afternoon. However, the breast is still given the child even to the age of three and after that age should the child desire the breast, the mother will prevent him from suckling, shaming him, by telling him that the other children will laugh at him. Should a new birth occur, however, the child is immediately deprived of the breast, the mother claiming that they do not have enough milk for two sucklings. The advent of a new baby, then may cause decided oral frustration for the older sibling. [92]

This oral deprivation is unquestionably one source of a sibling rivalry that is apparent in all stages of the child's development. This rivalry is as apparent to the natives as it is to the ethnographer. The older sibling, the natives agree, does not like the younger. The parents tell him that the infant is his sibling and that he should love him and be kind to him. The child, so the natives claim, takes this preachment to heart, so that 'he savvy, he like.' But in reality, the problem is not so simple. It is rare that 'he savvy, he like.' The natives themselves pointed out that following the birth of an infant, the older sibling becomes 'ill.' Often he cannot eat or sleep, and then a special medicine is prepared for him. In many cases the older sibling actually strikes the infant. The natives attribute this 'sickness' of the child to the lonesomeness it had felt for its mother

during her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her return. But, they all agreed that it does not last very long, and the sibling rivalry is soon dissipated. This is not in accord with the facts, however, for it continues throughout childhood, as we shall soon see. (10)"

"10. That the natives should deny the persistence of sibling rivalry should not occasion any surprise. Until Freud, western peoples refused to 'see' this phenomenon."

28: Spiro--96 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 869 Ifalik

"Children ask the meaning or purpose of various reflexes, and are answered in accord with the traditional body of knowledge. Sneezing (mozie) is inexplicable. However, protracted sneezing is a portend of illness, and should an adult be seized with a sneezing fit at night, he will go to sleep in another house.

Yawning (maulagtel) results from fatigue.

A hiccough (alowei) is caused by food being stuck in the throat. If it continues there is no known remedy. I have seen men hiccough for a long time, without attempting to do anything to stop it."

28: Spiro--116 (1947-48) 1949 Woelaians
116, 827, 864, 834, 522 Ifalik

"Sexual activity of any kind is completely taboo until puberty. Should a child engage in masturbation or intercourse, his growth would be stunted and he would become ill. However, I have often seen babies masturbating, or, at least, fingering their genitals, and never once have I seen any adult suppress this activity.

In young children I have not observed actual masturbation, though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no comment at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would persist for long periods of time in handling their penis, thus maintaining a constant erection. The older boys or men would laugh at this, but not reprimand them. Except for three or four boys, the entire child population asserted that they did not know if others masturbated, and, yet, Talimera drew a picture of a masturbating boy, which elicited peals of laughter from the other boys.

Whether children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any."

28x Spiro--116 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

"This awareness of sexual anatomical differences is revealed by other facts. Talemelmar had a loin cloth for about a week. One evening he came out nude, and Iliakong pointed at his penis, and laughed, whereupon he pointed to her vagina, and scornfully said, 'tingi'--vagina. He then went into the house, and came out wearing a loin cloth."

28: Spiro--116-117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

"On another occasion Talemelmar tried everything in his power to draw attention to his penis while in the group of seven other children calling their attention to it. He played with it with his hands. He walked with his back tilted so that his penis was in the air. He tied a coconut leaf strip around it, all of which succeeded in gaining his end-attention. Iliakong was becoming more and more resentful of his centrality, and tried to gain the attention of the others, but she could not compete with him. She began to roll on the ground, followed by Talemelemar, and then they began to play tag running around a circle. Suddenly she made a grab for his penis, but he repelled her. In what was a final gesture for attention, she suddenly got down on hands and knees, her buttocks in the air, and urinated with her back to the other children, anus and genitals in full view. This illustration, shows the awareness of both boys and girls of the superiority of the boy's genital over the girl's, and the latter's necessity of doing something drastic in order to compete with him. [117]

But the children do more than point to their genitals, they often try to grab them, particularly as a punishment for some wrong committed. Almost invariably, when a child frustrates another child of the opposite sex, the latter will grab for the genitals of the other. Often, however, this is done with no attempt at punishment. This mutual grabbing of the genitals is a very common occurrence.

28: Spiro--116-117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

The genitals are often the objects of aggression, though seldom the weapon of aggression. The anus is the 'sexual' weapon of aggression among children. Often if a child is frustrated he will bend to the ground with his anus in the air, and simulate a flatulation sound with his mouth. At least once, I observed this behavior as a game. The boys and girls would lie on the ground, whereupon one would approach another, 'flatulating' in his face, and this would evoke loud laughter from them all.

Though the genitals are seldom used as weapons of aggression, their names may be so used. Talavusman was angry at Talemelemar, and shouted 'tingi' at him. Iliakong was angry at a little girl, and said that she copulated. This evoked great laughter from all the children present."

28: Spiro--120
344, 827, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"2. The fanap, the 'townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tattooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their justaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, its presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The choice of the ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

28: Spiro--121 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 841, 827, 753 Ifalik

"Despite the nonchalance with which menstruation is accepted the men are in fear of the menstrual blood. When asked the cause of the fear, they answer that some blood might fall in their food, or that some might fall on them. These are obviously transparent rationalizations for something which has deep-seated, emotional roots, of which they themselves are not consciously aware. At least one man, however, said that should menstrual blood fall on a man, his hair comes out, he receives a perpetual stomachache, and he becomes demented. Should a man enter the hut, all vegetation would be destroyed, and 'the chief am very angry at that man.'"

28: Spiro--125 [2]
116, 831, 827, 152

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In either case it is agreed that the sex drive is very important, though not as important as the food drive, since the frustration of the latter results in death. Perhaps the intensity of their sex drive may be gaged by the statement of my informants that if middle aged married couples had intercourse every night, they would die."

28: Spiro--127 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 832 Ifalik

"Standards of sexual beauty, of course, are culturally variable, but it was difficult to obtain the Ifaluk conception of sexual beauty, since they insisted on the great variability within the culture itself. Tom referred often to the small breasts of a woman in the TAT, which he admired greatly, and many men commented favorably on the 'big' (that is, thick) legs of another woman in the TAT. But all questioning this score produced only animated discussion and much laughter. Sarfert, in his discussion of sex says that the women remove their pubic hair because the men consider it unaesthetic. Inquiry did not bear out this contention. It is true that many women do remove their pubic hair, but for different reasons. Long pubic hair may injure the man's penis during intercourse. Second, the women bathe in the lagoon while wearing their skirts. The water on the pubic hairs may not dry when they emerge, and will thus be noticeable, much to their embarassment."

28: Spiro--128 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 831, 827, 177 Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company.

As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

28: Spiro--128 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 843, 827, 833 Ifalik

"This is not true of pregnancy, however, which is not concealed, and which is not a tabooed topic for conversation; nor is it true of the exposure or reference to the female breast. (10)"

"10. Despite the exposure of the breast, it definitely has an erotic value, and is fondled and kissed in sexual foreplay. Furthermore, it is an object of sexual attraction, many men commenting, for example, on the attractive breasts of a woman in the TAT."

28: Spiro--129 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 514, 827 Ifalik

"This same puritanical attitude is displayed with reference to excretory behavior. All people perform their ablutions in the lagoon so that they are in public view. But they would be terribly ashamed if a person, even of their own sex were to see them urinating or defecating on land. If a man urinates, and other men are present, he will bend down on his haunches, so that his penis is concealed. A person in a group who must evacuate his bowels or bladder will not tell where he is going, when he leaves. He says, 'I am going over there.' Flatulation is in the same category. Should a person flatulate in public, people laugh at him, and he is greatly ashamed."

28: Spiro--144-145 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 264 Ifalik

"After eating the people may belch with impunity. Belching is simply not considered indecent, as it is in our society, nor is it an indication of having enjoyed the meal, as it is in other societies. It is just a neutral physiological act. [145]

The same is true, incidentally, of picking one's nose. People do this in public without any sense of shame."